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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 23, 1969

National Security Study Memorandum 9

TO: The Secretary of State
 The Secretary of Defense
 The Secretary of the Treasury
 The Director of Central Intelligence

SUBJECT: Review of the International Situation

The President has directed the preparation of an "inventory" of the international situation as of January 20, 1969. He wishes the review to provide a current assessment of the political, economic and security situation and the major problems relevant to U.S. security interests and U.S. bilateral and multilateral relations. In order to put this review into effect he wishes to consider responses to the attached set of questions along with other material considered relevant. The review should include a discussion, where appropriate, of the data upon which judgments are based, uncertainties regarding the data, and alternative possible interpretations of the data.

The responses should be forwarded to the President by February 20, 1969.

Attachment

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under provisions of E.O. 12958
by D. Van Tassel, National Security Council
F88-1057

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THE U. S. S. R.

I. General

1. How do the Soviets see their position in the world vis-a-vis the United States?
2. Is there a general trend toward greater assertiveness in Soviet foreign policy or toward more concentration on internal affairs?
3. What bearing does the military balance have on US/Soviet relations? What factors tend to promote Soviet efforts at cooperation with the US; what factors impel the Soviets toward confrontation with us?
4. Are there special factors operating one way or the other at the moment?

II. Military

A. Strategic Forces

1. What is the inventory of deployed Soviet strategic offensive and defensive forces as of January 1969? How are these forces likely to develop over the next 1-3-5-10 years in the absence of a US-Soviet limitation agreement? What technological changes seem likely over this time period? What is the extent and significance of increasing Soviet military presence far from the USSR?
2. How much do we know about current Soviet doctrines, plans, and procedures relating to the structure, basing and deployment, command and control, and use of strategic offensive and defensive forces? Which organizations control what particular offensive and defensive programs and forces? How do we get our information about Soviet strategic forces? What are the "hard" and "soft" areas of our information?

B. General Purpose Forces

1. How has the Czechoslovak crisis affected the pattern of deployment, state of readiness and supply, and numerical levels of Soviet General Purpose Forces? Have manning and equipping levels of ground forces changed? Are these short or long-term effects?

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2. What is the Soviet capability to deploy and support ground, naval, and air forces (a) in the Mediterranean, (b) in the Middle East, (c) in Africa and Asia? What trends are likely in the next 1-3-5 years regarding each of these areas?

3. What are present Soviet doctrines, plans, inventory levels, and deployments for non-strategic nuclear weapons? What future trends may be discerned?

III. Political

1. What are the sources of our information and the basis for our assessment of Soviet intentions and objectives? What are the "hard" and "soft" areas of our information?

2. From the perspective of the Soviet leadership, what challenges does the US appear to present? What threats to Soviet interests or to Soviet security?

3. What do we know of Soviet desires for a Summit?

4. What is the status of US-Soviet negotiations on opening consulates? What is the status of negotiations on chancery sites, leased lines, fisheries? What is the status of cultural exchanges with the US?

5. Apart from the possible release of Ivanov, what possibilities are available for gestures toward the Soviets?

6. What is the role of "wars of national liberation" in current Soviet political-military doctrine and policy? Has this role been modified since Khrushchev's famous speech of 1961?

7. By what means does the USSR currently influence and/or control the policies of its East European allies? How are the relationships between Moscow and the several East European governments and communist parties likely to be modified as a result of the Czechoslovak crisis?

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8. What is the extent and strength of the relationship between Moscow and the various communist parties of the non-communist world? Has the crisis affected relationships with Communist parties in other regions? To what extent is competition with Peking a factor?

9. What are the forces within the USSR tending to promote internal political and economic liberalization? What elements oppose liberation? How strong are these forces? How is their balance likely to be affected (a) by US actions or policies, (b) by other external sources? How is their balance likely to be reflected in Soviet foreign and military policies?

10. How do the Soviets see the future of their relations with principal West European countries? How do they see the future of NATO?

IV. Economic

1. How rapidly is the Soviet economy growing? What trends are likely over the next 1-3-5-10 years? What are the likely effects of these trends on Soviet foreign and military policies?

2. How useful and how effective are existing Western controls on the export of strategic goods (a) to the USSR, (b) to other East European countries? In which areas do our COCOM partners disagree with the US positions and what is the basis of their disagreement? How useful, and how effective, are limitations on the extension of credit?

3. What is the existing pattern of trade between the USSR and (a) the West as a whole, (b) the US? What would be the economic and political effects on enlargement of this existing pattern of trade, or other significant modifications of it? Are there goods which, if traded between the US and USSR, would create a significant threat to US security? Noting Kosygin's remarks to McNamara about truck production, are there any initiatives in the trade field which the US should consider?

V. Foreign Military and Economic Assistance Programs

1. What are the principal objectives of the Soviet Government in providing military/economic aid to the LDCs?

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2. What strains and burdens do these programs place upon the Soviet economy?

3. What are Soviet attitudes with regard to the provision of sophisticated weapons (surface-to-surface missiles, supersonic fighters, special radar, etc.) to the LDCs?

4. What degree of influence has the USSR acquired as a result of these programs?

5. What politico-military risks does the USSR incur as a result of its military assistance program? Is the Soviet leadership cognizant of these risks? What will be the pattern of resource allocation over the next 1-3-5 years?

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EASTERN EUROPE

I. Warsaw Pact

1. What is the status of our bilateral relations with the East European countries? Is there significant difference in our relations with (a) Czechoslovakia, (b) those EEs that participated in the Czechoslovakia Invasion, and (c) those that did not?
2. How does Soviet sensitivity to "bridge-building" in Eastern Europe relate to our policy there and to the policies toward us of the various East European countries?
3. What is the situation in Czechoslovakia now? What US policies are explicitly tied to the events in Czechoslovakia?
4. What is the state of (a) Soviet-Yugoslav and (b) Soviet-Romanian relations? How great is the likelihood of Soviet military action against one or both? How likely are crises in Soviet relations with them short of invasion? What kinds?
5. How has our assessment of Warsaw Pact capabilities been modified by the invasion of Czechoslovakia? What is the state of our contingency plans (US and NATO) with respect to deterring and coping with possible Soviet actions against Romania and Yugoslavia?
6. How have the deployments relating to the invasion of Czechoslovakia affected the balance of military forces in Europe? How do Pact forces compare (in gross and in detail) with NATO?
7. How far has the Pact proceeded with unification of command and force structures? What trends can be expected over the next 1-3-5 years?

II. Political and Economic Relationships

1. What are the prospects for liberalization in the various East European countries over the next five years? What is the US interest, if any, in this liberalization? How can the course of politics in East Europe be affected by US policies and actions?

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2. What is the present role and status of COMECON? What is its role in Soviet policy? To what degree does COMECON create barriers between Eastern Europe and Western trade and capital? What are likely future trends over the next 1-3-5-10 years in the economic relations between the USSR and its East European neighbors? Between COMECON and the West?

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WEST EUROPE -- GENERAL ECONOMIC

1. What are the most likely courses of development of the European Communities over the next 1-3-5 years? Identify (a) what political and economic circumstances in individual member countries and in the communities as a whole, (b) what policy decisions or actions on the parts of which member governments, and (c) the possible external (i. e., outside the member states) events, which will most affect these courses of development?

2. What possible developments in the European communities over the next 1-3-5 years would be most likely to come into conflict with the interests and aims of the United States? With those of Japan? With those of the various East European members of COMECON? With those of the USSR?

3. What are the prospects for British entry into the communities over the next 1-3-5 years? For the entry of other states? For some sort of relationship short of full membership for the UK and/or other non-member states? How will these various contingencies affect US interests? How will they affect the interests of other non-European developed industrial states?

4. What is the state of West European relations (including EEC) with the USSR and Eastern Europe? Do these pose any problems for us? What is the state of consultations between us and the West Europeans on these matters?

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